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A

SERMON

Preached before the

Houſe of LORDS,

IN THE

Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter*,

On *Monday*, *January* 30, 173$\frac{7}{8}$.

Being the Day appointed to be obſerved as the Day of the Martyrdom of King *CHARLES* I.

By *MARTIN* Lord Biſhop of *Gloceſter*.

Benson

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MDCCXXXVIII.

Die Martis 31°. *Januarii*, 1737.

ORdered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That the Thanks of this Houſe be, and are hereby given to the Lord Biſhop of *Glocester*, for the Sermon by him preached before this Houſe yeſterday in the Abby-Church *Weſtminſter*; and that he be deſired to cauſe the ſame to be printed and publiſhed.

Wm COWPER,
Cler. Parliamentor.

PSAL. LXXVIII. 5, 6, 7, 8.

--- He commanded our Fathers, that they ſhould make them known to their Children.
That the Generation to come might know them, even the Children which ſhould be born, who ſhould ariſe and declare them to their Children:
That they might ſet their hope in God, and not forget the Works of God, but keep his Commandments:
And might not be as their Fathers, a ſtubborn and rebellious Generation, a Generation that ſet not their heart aright.

THESE words point out to us the propriety and uſefulneſs of commemorating and conſidering the ſignal Mercies or Judgments, which have in the courſe of Providence been diſpenſed to any Nation. And they juſtify particularly the Wiſdom of this Nation, in having appointed the Obſervance of certain Days, in order to call upon the People to make due reflections on the Great Events for which they were remarkable.

But *this Wiſdom is not juſtified of all.*

Some there are, and not a few, of opinion, that the Three Annual Commemorations of this ſort, which the Law of the Land hath enjoin'd to be obſerved, might more uſefully be omitted than continued.—But, if theſe Perſons will but calmly conſider the reaſon of their firſt appointment, they may perhaps become ſenſible of the reaſonableneſs of their con-

tinuance, or at leaſt allow that ſome good may proceed from it.

The firſt of theſe Days, the 5th of *November*, was ſet apart, to put us in mind of the Evil and Danger of Popery and Tyranny, from both which at different times we have been wonderfully delivered on that day; and of the benefits and bleſſings of a True Religion and Legal Government, which by the ſame Mercy of Providence have been eſtabliſhed and preſerved among us.

And, as we are by this means cautioned againſt Superſtition and Bigotry, Tyranny and abſolute Power, on the one hand: So the Anniverſary which we are now aſſembled to obſerve, was intended to guard us againſt the contrary Extreme, of Fanaticiſm and Enthuſiaſm, of Lawleſſneſs and Licentiouſneſs. For both Extremes center in one and the ſame Point, both end in producing the ſame Diſorder and Miſery in the World. If there be any difference, the latter ſeems to produce the greater Evils of the two.

And laſtly, to make us fully ſenſible of the Happineſs we enjoy under a Limited Monarchy and Epiſcopal Proteſtant Church: As this ſecond Anniverſary was inſtituted to remind us, that the Deſtruction of *Theſe*, far from being a Benefit, as ſome Perſons once fondly imagined, will always be the greateſt Curſe to this Nation, as the whole People afterwards by experience found: So the third, the 29th of *May*, was deſigned to ſhew us, that if ever we ſhould again loſe this ineſtimable Bleſſing, nothing could make us eaſy and happy, but the Reſtoration of it to us.

Theſe then are ſo many *Land-Marks* ſet up, ſo many *Lights* hung out, to caution all ſucceeding Ages to ſteer in ſuch manner, as to keep at a diſtance from thoſe Rocks, which muſt otherwiſe inevitably daſh them

them to pieces, and to inſtruct them from the Examples and Experience of former Times, what their preſent Conduct ought to be.

Theſe are the grand and principal *Points* in which the People of this Nation are concern'd, and which they principally and perpetually want to be admoniſhed of. And therefore for admonition to them, it was ordained by the Legiſlature, that theſe Publick Commemorations ſo well ſuited to this Purpoſe, ſhould be ſolemnly and perpetually obſerved: *To teach the Children of the Generations to come, that Poſterity may know them, and the Children which are yet unborn: To the intent that when they come up they may ſhew their Children the ſame.*

But of all theſe Anniverſaries, there is none concerning the Propriety and Uſefulneſs, of which there has been ſo much Diſpute, as *That* we are this Day obſerving.

Some there are who think it not only very expedient, but almoſt abſoluely neceſſary, that it ſhould be ſtrictly and for ever obſerved: Others judge it not only expedient, but neceſſary, that the Obſervance of it ſhould be laid aſide. *Theſe* think, that the Continuance of it only tends to keep alive and foment Diſputes and Animoſities, which would otherwiſe ſoon die and be forgotten. *Thoſe* are of opinion, that the ſame evil Principles which produced formerly this fatal Tragedy, not only would ſoon ariſe, were the Commemoration of it to be dropped; but that they are ſtill ſubſiſting, and that it is neceſſary therefore to have the Obſervance of this Faſt continued, purpoſely to mark and diſcountenance thoſe who favour them: As *Aaron*'s Rod was ordered to be laid up in the Sanctuary, *for a token againſt future Rebels.* *Numb.* xvii. 10.

Some

Some of the former there are, who in this whole Proceeding throw all the blame entirely upon the King, and think what the People did to be so far from blameable as to be even meritorious. And many of the latter lay the whole Load upon the People, think them to be blamed and the King to be justified in every Part of their respective Conduct.

Thus are Men led by their Passions and Prejudices, instead of their Reason and Judgment. And so long as they will act and judge, not from an impartial Regard to the Truth of the Case, but from a Spirit of Opposition to one another, they must necessarily run into great Errors and Extremes. And till they can divest themselves of their prepossessions, it will be impossible for them to see things as they are, and consider of them as they deserve. Let us then endeavour to do this: to lay aside Party and Prejudice; and think of the Fact before us, with that Attention which the Importance of it requires, and that Seriousness and Love of Truth which are suitable to the Place we are in.

And let us *first* of all consider, wherein the true Crime, the real Obliquity, of the Fact which we this Day deplore, consisted:

And *secondly*, what right Use we may make of reflecting upon the wrong Behaviour of our Ancestors; what profitable Instruction, from reviewing what is past, we may be able to lay up for the regulating our own Conduct for the future.

This is a Behaviour better becoming pious Christians and peaceable Subjects upon this Day, when we are called upon by the Laws of our Land to observe it in a religious and dutiful manner, than only to find fault with what is ordered, and calumniate that which the Legislature hath thought fit to command. Those who can find so many bad Effects proceeding from the

the Obſervance of this Day, and are ſo highly offended at the ill Uſes made of it, will undoubtedly be extremely glad to find out any good ones, and will endeavour to improve them to the utmoſt: they will be pleaſed to have any way pointed out, by which the preſent Memorial may be render'd uſeful, either to themſelves or others. And perhaps they may at laſt diſcover, that while they have been wholly taken up in looking out for Inconveniences and Faults, they have overlooked the Uſes and Advantages, which might ariſe from a right and religious Obſervance of this Day.

How long it ſhall continue to be obſerved, this is a Matter which muſt be left to the Wiſdom of that Authority which at firſt appointed it. But in the mean time it certainly becomes every private Perſon, to pay it that regard which the Laws of his Country require, and make the beſt Uſe he can of the Subject which he is directed to turn his Thoughts to.

If then upon this Anniverſary he applies himſelf to lament the Sins of the Nation in general, and his own in particular, he may find Employment enough for the Day, without ſpending any part of it in juſtifying what was done by others formerly, or cenſuring what is enjoined him at preſent. But perhaps, when he proceeds farther, to conſider the particular Crime which he is called upon this Day to deplore, he may find ſufficient Matter in that alſo, to exerciſe his Thoughts; Matter for Humiliation in regard to what is paſt, and of Inſtruction in regard to what is to come: Provided he conſiders it with calmneſs and impartiality. And let us in this manner now conſider, wherein the true Crime and real Obliquity of the Actions, which are the Subject of our preſent Humiliation, conſiſted.

And here to ſay, that Kings have a right to treat their Subjects as they pleaſe, and that Subjects have no

right

right of Self-defence, would be to aſſert what is falſe in itſelf, and might be fatal in its conſequences. The Truth is, that each have their reſpective Rights, their reſpective Powers, and Duties. And *Theſe* in this Kingdom and Form of Government, are by Laws diſtinctly aſſigned to each of them. The King is to govern, and the People are to obey, according to the Laws of the Land, which are equally a Rule to Both. And when Either tranſgreſs this Rule, they depart from their Duty and become guilty of a Crime. When therefore in the Times we are now to conſider, the King claimed a Power of levying Money by his Own ſole Command, of impriſoning Perſons, and eſpecially Members of either Houſe of Parliament, by his Own Authority, He claimed what He had no right to. And the People therefore had a right to deny and oppoſe ſo unwarrantable a Demand, ſo dangerous a Precedent. And thoſe who did oppoſe it, were to be eſteemed worthy Patriots, and not to be accounted Rebels.

When the King on the other hand gave up ſuch Demands, and diſclaimed ſuch an Authority; when he returned to the Bounds of his Prerogative, and the People refuſed to return to the Bounds of their Duty; when it was evident they were aiming not to keep their Sovereign within the Limits of his Power, but to aſſume a licentious Power to themſelves and over Him: Then was the Crime in the People and not their Prince; then were they guilty of Rebellion, in reſiſting their lawful Sovereign ruling according to Law over them, and of Perſecution, in every thing they made Him ſuffer for adhering to the juſt Rights of his Crown.

That the Miniſters of the King were for ſtraining his Prerogative too far, in order to ſerve their own and not their Maſter's Intereſts, was but too true. Nay, it

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muſt be owned, that the Judges, the Miniſters of Publick Juſtice in the Land, pronounced in his Favour, That to be the Law of it, which was contrary to it. And it cannot be denied, that ſome of thoſe, whoſe Profeſſion it was to be Miniſters of the Goſpel of Truth, did, to ſerve Worldly ends and purpoſes, preach up a Doctrine of their own framing, as the Doctrine of Chriſt; that it was unlawful for any Subjects to oppoſe their Princes, upon any Occaſion or Account whatſoever. Thus was the King not only provoked by the unreaſonable Perverſeneſs of one part of his Subjects, but deluded by the Officiouſneſs and ſeeming Zeal of another part, to aſſume a Power which he had no right to.

They who defend the Behaviour of that Party which oppoſed the King, are apt in their Declamations to be very ſevere upon Court Flatterers. And no one can ſay any thing to vindicate them. It is but too common, for Princes to aim at, and Paraſites to attribute to them more than they ought. But while this is obſerved, it muſt not be forgotten, that the People as well Princes have their Paraſites alſo; who compliment them likewiſe with Powers not belonging to them, and who hope to advance themſelves and their Fortunes as much by unreaſonably oppoſing their Superiors, as others by complying with them.

But to return. If the Encroachments on the Part of the King were ſuch as the Subjects had great reaſon to complain of, the Conceſſions on the Part of the King were as many as the Subjects could deſire; and more, not only than it was neceſſary, but than it was fit for the King to make. He gave but too great a Proof of his Deſire to do every thing to ſatisfy even the moſt diſſatisfied and unreaſonable of his Subjects, when he gave his Aſſent to the Act for continuing the Parliament, as long as it ſhould pleaſe the Parliament itſelf

to be continued. And it is to be obſerved, that this Aſſent was not by force extorted from him, but freely given at the beginning of the Troubles, and before any unfortunate Succeſs can be ſaid to have reduced him to the neceſſity of ſuch a compliance. But whatever Compliances he at any time made, were all interpreted to proceed from ſome wrong Motive, and none allowed to be ſincerely intended. And every ſurmiſe of his Adverſaries not only then was, but now is by ſome People, looked on to be a plain Certainty; while Facts themſelves, on the other hand, are not admitted to be of the leaſt weight. How ſeverely has the King been charged with an *Intention* of breach of Promiſe? But how many Promiſes, how many Oaths did his Oppoſers *actually* break? And yet all this on that Side is to paſs for nothing. What repeated Proteſtations did they make of their tender Regard for the King and his Royal Dignity? How ſolemnly did they ſwear, when they took the ſolemn League and Covenant, *that they would with their Lives and Eſtates preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, that the World might bear witneſs, with their Conſciences, of their Loyalty, and that they had no Thoughts or Intention to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs?* How ſolemnly did thoſe to whom the King did ſurrender Himſelf for Security promiſe, that they would defend him againſt all his Enemies: and how did they immediately deliver Him up to the moſt irreconcileable of them?

Notwithſtanding all this, a Notion has been taken up by ſome, as if it were uncharitable and even unchriſtian, to brand any of the Regicides with Infamy. But ſurely ſome Degree of juſt Cenſure may be permitted on occaſion of a Fact, to which it is allowed that there is not in all Hiſtory an entire Parallel.

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There have been many who have conſpired ſecretly, or rebelled openly againſt their Princes. In the Fury of an Inſurrection, in the Heat of a Battel, it may often have happen'd that rebellious Subjects may have ſlain their lawful Sovereign. By ſecret Poiſon or ſudden Aſſaſſination ſeveral Kings have fallen. But no Miſcreants before theſe, ever thought of erecting themſelves by their own Authority into a High Court of Juſtice, and placing their Sovereign at the Bar of it. Theſe Wretches proceeded in cold Blood, after long Thought and Prayer too, to perpetrate the blackeſt Wickedneſs in the moſt ſolemn Forms they could contrive; and with unexampled Hypocriſy arraigned the King as an arbitrary Prince, ſubverting the Fundamental Laws of the Nation: When at the very time of their doing ſo, they were acting not only without any Law, but againſt the whole Authority of the whole Conſtitution. For even were we to carry the Power of the Repreſentative Body of the People, as far as its moſt zealous Aſſertors can poſſibly carry it; were we to ſuppoſe there were a right in them of trying their Sovereign and even puniſhing Him with Death: Yet thoſe who committed this Fact, were confeſſedly ſuch, as could pretend to no ſort of Right whatſoever, putting the Matter upon any Scheme or Foot whatſoever. They were neither the Parliament, nor Commiſſioned by the Parliament, but an armed Rabble, *not the Repreſentative of the tenth Part of the People*, as the Act for obſerving this Faſt remarks. The Majority of the Houſe of Commons, the true Repreſentative Body of the People, had, with the Concurrence of the Houſe of Lords, voted the King's Conceſſions ſatisfactory and a ground of Peace. Theſe Men therefore were Traitors to their Country as well as their King, were Rebels to the Parliament as well as the Crown.

But, together with their Civil Conduct, their Behaviour in Eccleſiaſtical Matters muſt be conſidered alſo, in order to give a full view of what I propoſed to ſhew under this head, wherein their Wickedneſs and Guilt conſiſted. Now, as under pretence of redreſſing Grievances in the State, the Laws of the Kingdom were overturned by them: ſo under pretence of reforming Religion, every thing that was decent and orderly in the Church was by violence aboliſhed. And while they were committing Extravagancies and Enormities, which a moral Heathen would have ſtartled at, their cry ſtill was, that the Religion Eſtabliſhed was not pure enough for them. Their Conſciences were ſo tender and ſcrupulous, as not to be able to ſuffer even ſome indifferent things in the exterior of Religion: and at the ſame time without any ſcruple they broke thro' all the *weightieſt Matters, of Juſtice, Mercy, and Faith.* I do not ſay that they had no reaſon to complain of ſome oppreſſive Acts of ſome Churchmen. They had, it is too certain, but too much. But what ſhews their Iniquity in a peculiarly ſtrong Light is, that while they were loudly exclaiming againſt the Power of the Eſtabliſhed Church, they eſtabliſhed a Tyranny ten times greater, even in the Opinion of the Enemies of the Church, than the greateſt which themſelves had charged it with.

Matth. xxiii. 23.

When the Prelacy Worſhip and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* was aboliſhed, and the Presbyterian Scheme exalted in its place: How did thoſe who had been ſo bitterly inveighing againſt the Perſecutions of the Epiſcopal Party, behave towards them and towards others who differ'd from them? Did they ſo much as tolerate the Worſhip of the Church of *England?* Nay, they not only perſecuted all Churchmen, whom they looked on as their profeſſed Enemies, but

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the Independents, whom they before had ſtiled their holy Friends and dear Brethren. And the Independents themſelves called *the Preſbyterian Government*, *Antichriſtian*, *Lordly*, *Cruel*, *a worſe Bondage than under Prelates*. And they called their *Aſſembly*, *Antichriſtian*, *Romiſh*, *Bloody*. Though Epiſcopal Government had been held to be Antichriſtian, yet the whole new Form of the Presbyterian was immediately declared to be *Jure Divino*. *Edwards's* Gangr. Part III. Pag. 221, and 230. *Neal's* Hiſt. Vol. III. Pag. 299.

How much ſoever they have cried out againſt it ſince, the Preſbyterians were then very ready to invoke the Aſſiſtance of the ſecular Arm; and applied *not only for having their own Form of Eccleſiaſtical Government eſtabliſhed, but no other tolerated, and for the Reſtraint even of all Private Aſſemblies*. The Parliament *called in all the Common Prayer Books, and impoſed a Fine on thoſe Miniſters who ſhould read any other Form than that contained in the Directory. The Common Prayer was forbid to be uſed not only in publick, but in any private Family or Place, under Penalty of* 5l. *for the firſt Offence*, 10l. *the ſecond, the third a Year's Impriſonment*. There was farther, a *Declaration of the Houſe of Commons againſt all who ſhould write or ſay any thing in derogation of the New Eſtabliſhed Church Government*. And ſtill farther, an Act of their Parliament, *Impowering the Council of State to regulate the Myſtery of Printing*. And thus they had an opportunity of ſhewing, how real their regard was then, for what is at other times a favourite Topick with them, *the Liberty of the Preſs*. Nay, there was an *Ordinance, That all who ſhould willingly maintain, publiſh or defend, by preaching or writing, certain Hereſies contrary to the Doctrines of the then Eſtabliſhed Church, ſhould be adjudged Felons; and upon Complaint or Proof by the* *Neal's* Hiſt. Vol. III. Pag. 157, and 284. Page 365. Paſſed *Jan.* 7. 1652. Paſſed *May* 2. 1648.

Oaths

Oaths of two Witneſſes before two Juſtices of the Peace, be committed to Priſon, and in caſe they ſhould not abjure them, ſuffer Death: And in caſe they ſhould abjure them, ſhould find ſecurity for their future Behaviour. If they ſhould relapſe, they ſhould ſuffer Death as before. It is ſcarcely credible, that ſuch ſhould be the Behaviour of a Set of Men, even immediately upon their firſt exaltation to Power, the Employment of whoſe Lives had been, while they were out of it, to exclaim againſt the Antichriſtian Tyranny of the Church of *England:* and that themſelves ſhould rival the Cruelty of the *Romiſh* Church, even in the moſt cruel part of it, the *Inquiſition*, *Liberty of Conſcience*, which they had been ſo highly extolling, when they were undermoſt, as ſoon as they were got uppermoſt, is cried down and repreſented to be *the Root of all Evil, the Ruin of all Religion.* * And what hath been lately *demanded as a Natural Right, a Capacity of ſerving in all State Employments*, was then looked upon by themſelves in a quite contrary Light, and *no Layman whoſoever was capable of any Office, Civil or Military whatſoever*, who did not qualify himſelf by taking the Covenant. †.

Thus then at length all the pretended Reformation both of Church and State ended in the Deſtruction of Both; and at the ſame time of all Liberty, Civil and Religious. For, inſtead of the Grievances, part of them imaginary ones, which theſe Men had ſo much complained of under the Government of their lawful Prince, the foreſt Tyranny was introduced that ever this Nation felt; not of one, but of many Tyrants, and ſome of them the loweſt and worſt of the People. Then

* *Vid. Edwards*'s Gangr. and other Writings, Harmonious Conſent of the *Lancaſhire* Miniſters, 1648. *Cawdery*'s Independency a great Schiſm, 1657. *Baxt.* Non Conf. Plea, Pref. and his Self-Den. Ep. Mon. and his Ch. Div. and other Writings.

† *Neal*'s Hiſt. Vol. III. pag. 82.

Then were those Prophecies verified in our Land. *The People shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his neighbour. The child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable. Behold, the Lord maketh the earth waste, and turneth it upside down. And it shall be, as with the people so with the priest, as with the servant so with his master, as with the maid so with her mistress, as with the buyer so with the seller, as with the lender so with the borrower! The Land shall be utterly spoiled, because the Lord hath spoken the word. The earth is defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant.* Isa. iii. 5, &c. 24.

This State of Things was too disorderly and preposterous to last long: and it naturally ushered in another species of Tyranny, that of a Single Man, who having raised himself from a low rank in life only by the pretence of pulling down arbitrary power, as soon as ever he was exalted, exercised a more arbitrary Power himself, than any of our lawful Princes had ever attempted to do. It had been charged upon the King, as the greatest breach of the Liberties of the People, that he went into the House of Commons to demand the Persons of some of the Members: Whereas the Usurper afterwards by force of arms turned all the Members out of that House, treating them and all their Privileges with the utmost contempt. And when it pleased him to call a new House of Commons, in the very Writs he named the Members, whom he appointed to serve for every County and Borough. And this was the *Free Parliament*, which declared him Protector. *

* *Vide. Clarend. Hist.* Vol. III. Book

After the Death of this Tyrant, an Anarchy wilder than ever again ensued. Not only every one grew wea-

ry of the Changes almoſt every day introduced; but thoſe who loved Change the moſt, had quite tired their Invention in projecting Changes. One of the Parties concerned in producing this Confuſion, the *Anabaptiſts*, have given us a remarkable Deſcription of it, in their Addreſs to the King, then in exile; which the Noble Hiſtorian of this Day hath taken care to preſerve: † There they declare, *That when they conſider'd the many Changings, Turnings and Overturnings of Governors and Governments, which in theſe Revolutions of a few Years had been produced in this Land of Miracles, they were ſwallowed up in aſtoniſhment:* And acknowledge, *that their many Follies and Imprudences had not been the leaſt means of giving birth and growth to thoſe many Miſeries which theſe Three once moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms did at that time moſt ſadly groan under.* They confeſs, *that they had been roving up and down, this way and that way, through the uncouth and untrodden Paths of Fanatick and Enthuſiaſtick Notions, till at laſt, but too late, they found themſelves intricated in ſo many Windings, Labyrinths and Mæanders of Knavery, that nothing but a divine Clue from Heaven could be able to extricate them.* They acknowledge, *that they had added the greateſt Hypocriſy to their other Sins, and in the midſt of their Abominations, too bad to be named among the worſt of Heathens, had not wanted the impudence to ſay, Let Jeſus Chriſt be exalted, let his Kingdom be advanced, let the Goſpel be propagated.* And they lament the Fruits of their Folly and Wickedneſs in theſe words, *We have ſown Faction, and we have reaped Confuſion: When we looked for Liberty, behold, Slavery: When we expected Righteouſneſs, behold, Oppreſſion!*

† *Vide.* *Clarend.* *Hiſt.* Vol. III. Book 15.

During this Confuſion, there were very near approaches made towards that happy State, which ſome Men

Men are ſo earneſtly wiſhing now to ſee, when there was no Religion at all eſtabliſhed. Then was that favourite Expedient in good meaſure tried, which they ſo much want to have another and a full trial of.

Of all this Confuſion both in Religion and State, which happen'd in the Nation, God was made the Author: Every thing theſe Wretches did, was ſtill *the Lord's doing*. And thus it came to be ſaid of them, with the ſame Inſult and Scorn, as it was by the Heathen, of the degenerate *Iſraelites*; — *Theſe are the People of the Lord.* Ezek. xxxvi.

Zeal againſt Popery was one of the chief Profeſſions which theſe Men made. And yet notwithſtanding their double Zeal againſt it, they have certainly been the moſt uſeful Tools for the advancement of it, which the Popes have ever employed. And that in acting this Tragedy, they were, without knowing it, employed by the Pope, is the Excuſe in extenuation of this Wickedneſs, which their own Friends have pleaded for them. But without queſtion they gave the deepeſt Wound to Proteſtantiſm which it has ever received, and the Scar of which muſt for ever remain. So far indeed as it can be done, the Obſervance of this Faſt takes away the Reproach, which otherwiſe both our Country and Religion muſt have lain under, on account of the horrid Facts which theſe Wretches committed. And this was one great Reaſon, and ſurely not an inconſiderable one, of its Inſtitution. For thus the Act itſelf declares: *Becauſe by this Murther the Proteſtant Religion has received the greateſt Wound and Reproach, and the People of* England *the moſt inſupportable Shame and Infamy, that it was poſſible for the Enemies of God and this Kingdom to bring upon us; while the Fanatick Rage of a few Miſcreants, who were as far from being true Proteſtants, as they*

were from being true Subjects, ſtands imputed by Adverſaries to the whole Nation: We therefore, the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do hereby renounce, abominate and proteſt againſt that impious Murther and moſt unparallel'd Treaſon. And for the better vindication of ourſelves to Poſterity, and as a laſting Monument of our otherwiſe inexpreſſible Deteſtation of this villanous and abominable Fact, We deſire that the Anniverſary of this Day may for ever be obſerved as a Faſt.

But at the ſame time that I repeat the words of this Act, I would have it remember'd, That care has been alſo taken, by the appointment of another Anniverſary to ſhew, that it is as much the Senſe of the Legiſlature, that tyrannical Encroachments of Princes ought to be oppoſed, as that the extravagant Licentiouſneſs of the People ought to be reſtrained.

It was not therefore merely the Reſiſting of a King, in which the Iniquity we this Day bewail conſiſted. But it was reſiſting him when Reſiſtance was not neceſſary: it was adding to this Injuſtice that of his barbarous Murther: it was taking away the Lives and Properties of multitudes of their innocent Fellow-Subjects: and deſtroying with the King the Conſtitution and Kingdom itſelf: in which conſiſted the Iniquity we this Day profeſs our abhorrence of.

This was the Caſe and Fact at that time. And this was not the Caſe and Fact at the Revolution. Though the Patrons of the oppoſite Extremes, with reſpect to Government, would yet unite in repreſenting it to be ſo: As both think it may be turned to ſerve the unreaſonable Poſition they are for advancing. Thoſe who are for the Deſpotick Power of Kings, aſſert that King *James* II. was as unlawfully reſiſted afterwards, as King *Charles* I. had been deprived of his Crown and

Life before. Thoſe who are of Antimonarchick Principles, have been deſirous to maintain, That the Beheading of K. *Charles* was as lawful, as the Oppoſition made to K. *James*; and that both were to be juſtified upon the ſame Principles and by the ſame Reaſons only. It is very apparent however, that there was a great, the greateſt, Difference, between the two Caſes: Indeed there was no other Similitude, than that a remarkable Change of Government both times happen'd. The one was from good to bad, the other the reverſe: The Conſequence of the one was the ruining; of the other, the preſerving the Conſtitution: of the one, the good, of the other, the evil Effects do we at this day feel. In the one all was Confuſion Diſorder and Rapine: in the other, every thing was conducted with the greateſt Calmneſs, and all the Proceedings were juſt and regular. The Means made uſe of on this latter Occaſion were lawful and good, like the End propoſed to be accompliſhed by them. But of a very different nature were thoſe, which effected the Evil we are now aſſembled to expreſs our deteſtation of. It was not an armed Force, an illegal Power, but the Two Houſes of Parliament, the Repreſentative Body of the Nation, which decided and ſettled every thing at the Revolution. This was a Change carried on by the Members of the Eſtabliſhed Church, while too many of the Diſſenters from it were employed in courting and receiving Favours from the Popiſh Power. But thoſe Sons of Violence, who acted the Tragedy of this Day, had deſtroyed the Parliament, and Church alſo, before they proceeded to deſtroy their Sovereign. In the one of theſe Tranſactions, there was unexampled Barbarity and Cruelty: The other was ſo conducted, as ſcarce to have the Blood of a ſingle Perſon ſhed in this Nation. In ſhort, the

one will be the eternal Honour as well as Advantage, and the other the Scandal and Reproach of this Nation. One of theſe Facts hath been of the greateſt ſervice to Tyranny and Superſtition in the World. For Men having ſeen to what lengths thoſe Perſons went, who profeſſed to ſet themſelves up on purpoſe to pull down both; and that they really introduced much greater Evils, than thoſe they pretended to remove: It was impoſſible to prevent their laying hold on this, as an Argument againſt all Attempts whatſoever, to reſtore the Rights or reform the Religion of any People. The other, on the contrary, the Revolution, hath helped to anſwer this Objection. It has ſhewed that there may be Zeal without Enthuſiaſm, and Reformation without Deſtruction: that a Nation may proceed in theſe difficult and arduous Affairs, with all that Wiſdom and Calmneſs, which is neceſſary to conduct them rightly and conclude them happily. And on that Account, this Event may prove of as great ſervice to Religion and Mankind in general, as it has done to this Church and Kingdom in particular.

But I very willingly leave making Reflections upon the Behaviour of others, to proceed to what is of more Importance, an Application to ourſelves: That we may amend and avoid in our own Behaviour, whatever we have remarked to be wrong in the Conduct of thoſe who have gone before us.

And who can have looked back upon the Confuſion and Miſery, which Enthuſiaſm and Licentiouſneſs occaſioned in this Land, and not determine with himſelf to be exceedingly cautious, not to be deluded and drawn aſide by either of them? For when once he is drawn aſide, how far he may go he knows not.

Thoſe who are Enemies to Monarchy may here view the Miſchiefs, which Anarchy wrought in theſe Kingdoms;

doms; and learn to be as much on their Guard againſt the Licentiouſneſs of a People, as the Tyranny of a King. They may very plainly ſee, that the Licentiouſneſs of thoſe who are to be governed, can as fully and effectually deſtroy Liberty, as the Encroachments of thoſe who govern.

Princes, on the other hand, and thoſe who are in Power under them, may be cautioned from beholding this fatal Tragedy, never to attempt to ſtretch that Power beyond its due Bounds.

Thoſe who are Enemies to the Eſtabliſhed Church, may ſee the Effects which the deſtroying of it produced; and learn to reſpect it more, when they contemplate the Confuſion and Oppreſſion which another Form of Worſhip occaſioned in the Nation. And thoſe who are Friends to it may ſee, that all violent Methods and extravagant Claims, muſt prove of great diſſervice to it. But more particularly Thoſe who are in Authority in the Church, may from the Occurrences of thoſe Times be inſtructed, never to carry that Authority farther than its juſt Limits; and never to aim at any more Power, than by the Word of God and Laws of the Realm they are plainly inveſted with.

Again: While we lament the Misfortunes of former Times, we cannot but be led to rejoice over the Felicity of our own; who live under a King, who has as tender a regard for every Right of his Subjects, as he can have for any Prerogative of his own Crown. We muſt indeed bewail the loſs of a Queen, with whom his Majeſty and his People were bleſſed, not of a different Religion, nor in a different Intereſt from thoſe of this Country; which was the great Unhappineſs both of the Prince and the People, in the Reign we have been looking back to: But united as much in Affection to the Nation as She was to his Majeſty Him-

Himſelf. We have this conſolation however left, that Both of Them inſtead of ſuffering any wrong Notions of Power to be infuſed into their Royal Offspring, (which had been again another great Misfortune of the Prince and Times, which are the ſubject of this Days Commemoration:) They Both, I ſay, have taken ſo great care to inſtill the ſame right Maxims into a numerous Poſterity; that, if we look forward from our own to future Times, we may have a pleaſing Proſpect, that our own Poſterity ſhall, if our own Licentiouſneſs does not prevent it, be free and happy.

And as there is no Oppreſſion in the State, ſo is there none in the Church, even for thoſe at this time who wiſh and want to be complaining, to be able to complain of.

Upon the Whole then let us recollect, That We of this Nation, have had experience of all ſorts of Mercies and Miſeries. We have both ſeen and felt the Tyranny of Popery, the Wildneſs of Enthuſiaſm, and the Wantonneſs of Licentiouſneſs: And we now feel the Bleſſings of a ſober Religion and a free Government. We have indeed ſo long felt them, that we ſeem to be growing weary of them. But let us neither become ſo ungrateful to our God nor unkind to ourſelves. Let us take care to ſhew ourſelves worthy of Liberty, by ſhewing that we know how to uſe it, and that we underſtand the difference between that and Licentiouſneſs. Let us remember, that there is one thing, and but one thing, worſe than abſolute Power, and that is an unbridled Licentiouſneſs. Let not us be fond of thoſe Republican Schemes, which, under the Pretext of Liberty, introduced the heavieſt Tyranny, which this Nation ever groaned under. Let not us be for exchanging That, which we have proved by a long experience to be good and uſeful, for That which

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a very ſhort experience made the whole Nation weary of. Let us beware how we ſpread ſuch Notions among the People, as will leſſen that reſpect to Publick Authority, without which, not only thoſe who govern, but thoſe who are to be governed alſo, cannot be ſafe.

Whoever looks back, muſt ſee, that one great Step towards all the Confuſion which happened afterwards was, that the Attention of the Common People had been drawn off from their own Buſineſs to the Publick Proceedings. And whoever looks about him muſt ſee, that the ſame Thing again but too much prevails. Declamatory Papers are induſtriouſly put into all Hands: And, whatſoever the Intention may be, the Effect muſt be very bad. While the lower People are taken up with theſe things, they muſt be taken off from their Labour. And when by their Idleneſs they have helped to bring Diſtreſſes upon themſelves, they murmur at thoſe who rule over them. They, as the *Iſraelites* did, — *curſe God and their King, and look upwards*. In the midſt of Plenty they murmur at that Providence which ſends it: In the midſt of Security they murmur at that Government by means of which they enjoy it. Men without Morals are for framing a Religion of greater Perfection than the Chriſtian: and Men without Wiſdom enough to be able to govern themſelves, are contriving new Schemes and inventing better Forms of Government for others; and they are eager for pulling down what is ſettled, in order to the ſetting up ſomething, they know not even themſelves what. *Iſa.* viii. 21.

Religion at the ſame time is treated with as much Freedom and as little Decency, as Government or any other Subject whatſoever can be. And while this is ſo, what can be expected as to other things? When once People grow weary of their God, it is not to be imagined, that they will be likely long to remain faithful

faithful to their King or juſt to one another. If any Man is really a Friend to his Country, he ſhould take care to ſhew himſelf to be ſuch by being a Friend to Religion too. Whatever tends to the removing out of Mens Minds all Principles of Religion tends to the removing out of the World all Government and Order. Religion above all things, conduces to ſecure Reſpect and Obedience to the Civil Magiſtrate. It will have a good influence both on thoſe that govern, and thoſe that obey. It will teach the former *to rule over Men in the Fear of God:* It will teach the latter to obey *not only for Wrath but for Conſcience ſake.*

Let us then firſt make ourſelves good Chriſtians, and that will make us good Subjects and good Neighbours. Let us plant in ourſelves and promote in others all thoſe Chriſtian Virtues and Graces, which tend to the Peace and Proſperity of all Mankind. Let us extirpate thoſe Vices and Paſſions, which render the World unhappy; which make Men uneaſy in themſelves and pernicious to others; which are the Miſery of every private Perſon, and the Bane of publick Society.

To conclude: If either the Remembrance of paſt Bleſſings, or Proſpect and Hopes of future; if either the Memory of paſt Miſeries, or Apprehenſions of others to come, can have any effect upon us: If we have any love for our Country, any regard for ourſelves, or concern for our Poſterity: Let every one of us, each in his proper Station, contribute his utmoſt to ſupport and improve our happy Conſtitution both in Church and State. The Intereſt of the One depends on that of the Other: And the Intereſt both of Prince and People equally depends upon the Preſervation of Each of Them.

F I N I S.